/18 cont./

859 for this reason the hammock is made of agave fiber, which re-
863 sists rot, and although a child of a year may still wet the bed, it is usual by the time he reaches this age, and even before, for him to have the habit of cleanliness formed and this problem not to exist, because of previous training. It may be that the child is helped in this by the hot and dry climate of the region, by the reduced quantity of liquid he absorbs during the day, by the physiological phenomenon of perspiration which causes much elimination, and because the mother rises early, at daybreak, and calls the child to his organic necessities, a custom which in time forms a habit, so keeping him dry in bed. /19/

854 When the small family lives apart, especially from the wife's relatives, the rearing and initial training of the children is limited to its members and their maids and female bond servants and slaves if there are any. This training is mainly simple and personal and consists in regulating his daily and nightly feeding, sleep, cleanliness, and beginning to crawl and walk. As the culmination of his preliminary training comes speech.

In this early teaching the average poorer mother plays the main role, as only the better-off mother has the advantage of help from female bond servants, slaves, and servants or wet nurses. We have already seen how the mother carries out these duties or how they are equally fulfilled by whoever assists her.

When she has to go out she leaves the child in the care of her husband, who, following the instructions he receives, feeds the child, watches its cleanliness, its rest, and safety according to customary patterns. At other times the older brothers and sisters have this duty.

[595] If several women live together with a man, it is not unusual that during the absence of one, the others will take care of her children and take her place in protecting and caring for them whether the child is tiny or older. This practice, naturally, occurs only when there is no ill will or hatred between the various co-wives.

[594] When the family life is lived within the maternal family grouping, or when two sisters are co-wives and live in the same

/19 cont./

854 596 house, the training and care of the children is simplified by the joint support and action of the two sisters, who do not object to giving each other mutual aid in sharing domestic duties and the care of the children during the absence of one of the sisters, so that the children are well cared for and trained as if they were members of one family. In the case of daughters who live together with their respective children in their mother's house, the unity among them is almost equal to the case just described. Thus the absence of the mother is willingly filled in by the desire of the others to assist her and temporarily fill her place. It may also be the common mother /of the daughters/ -- the grandmother /of the children/ -- who replaces all the daughters, or a maternal aunt, or even the grandmother -- great-grandmother of the children -- if she is still of an age to do so, a female cousin, etc. In these cases the mother's influence is amplified with that of her maternal relatives who care for the children by trying to adhere to the general norm of conduct and the particular ways that each mother uses.

854 591 Another influence that is being felt and can be perceived more clearly at the present time with the problem of crossbreeding and of Catholic marriage is the /20/ acknowledged participation of the paternal relatives in the training. We know that Guajiro marriage is usually matrilocal, but it can happen that later on it may change into a patrilocal one, the children then coming under the influence of the paternal relatives who also assist the mother. In these two cases there seems to be a sort of transfer of the feeling of kinship, and although the maternal may be more powerful in certain aspects, the paternal by fact acquires prerogatives which it wields actively: The new generation comes under the influence of both branches, which co-operate in their rearing and training.

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854 The mother shows every affection for her small child, above all while it is being breast fed, but later the demonstrations of

/164 cont./

592 602 611 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their descendants.

4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 593 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 178 596 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro

/164 cont./

593 culture to the maternal uncle. Another phenomenon /165/ that
178 develops in this type of marriage is the appearance of paternal
596 relatives who are gradually acquiring places in kinship to the point that they almost hold positions similar to those held in our society. In fact, the children of a marriage so constituted begin to consider their father within the boundaries of their relatives; initially, he was not so considered, but by degrees, he is acquiring this manifest recognition in the act of their taking sides with him, being represented by him on outstanding occasions such as marriage, receiving help and assistance from him, and later on being his legitimate heirs.

In the classical Guajiro home the outstanding authority is that of the maternal uncle, who surpasses the eldest person in order of importance. There can, however, be an exception when another of these relatives has acquired a position that is not only more prominent than any of his brothers but also extends its radius of action to all the clan group and even passes on to other clans. Individual personal merit or wealth may be the cause of the elevation of his status, which is fully recognized within the family to the point that he may supplant the brother who by chronological order he ought to obey. According to the
[561] old order, age was the index of the exercise of authority, an arrangement that defined succession in case of death.

596 It also may occur that in any one of the different homes formed by each one of the sisters of a family, preferential deference and recognition is given to one of the sisters without taking into account the hierarchy established by age, status, etc.

This preference is due to the affinity shown by the mother for one of her brothers, a preference that has a reciprocal effect extending to the sons of the sister from whom he will receive greater respect. Beside respect the influence goes deeper and the effective assistance of this brother is greater than that rendered by the others. This is shown especially by his gifts at the birth of the children of the sister and above all by his taking charge personally of educating them in pasturing and in masculine

/165 cont./

596 activities in general. After the uncle, the function of authority falls to the mother. They, uncle and mother, on occasion make decisions together after prior consultation and agreement, but if there should be a difference of opinion the uncle's decision prevails. After these comes the authority of the children, which also runs in chronological order and by sex. First is the authority of the eldest son, since in case there are several daughters /born/ before a son, the authority will be exercised by the latter no matter what his position in the family is in order /166/ of arrival into the world.

The female descendants in the mother's line also have much authority, and their opinions are listened to and given attention, and the mother's sisters, after the maternal uncle, are the most respected and exercise considerable influence over the nieces, especially at the time of their initiation and during the arrangement of their purchase as brides. The mother's aunts and her female cousins, generally called aunts, may be listened to, especially when some one of them holds a preferential position within the family or within the culture.

592 In the home the authority for the general organization of the administrative life rests in the wife. She should impose her will and be responsible for the decisions she makes. She exercises control over her children, nephews and nieces, servants, slaves, and hired help /criados/, organizing their work and being responsible for their conduct. This authority is more extensive when the economic and social position of the woman is higher, as those of the upper class have around them a larger staff and an endless number of relatives other than their own children, nephews and nieces, over all of whom they must impose their authority. Also, in the case of the first wife, who is the principal administrator of her husband's property and the builder of his real home, this authority grows even greater. However, the power of the woman cannot extend to the homes of her married daughters or to the homes of her other female relatives. She may give voice to her opinion on some matter,

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--292 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

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177 Working as a government employee also confers prestige and furthermore constitutes a sure income within the economic ups and downs of stock raising conditions existent in La Guajira. These administrative posts are in the main given to individuals who already have great prestige in the zone administered, with the object in view of facilitating administrative and, on occasion, legal work in the commissary government.

The status of hunter was without doubt the most important when this activity was one of the sources of economic life in the peninsula. Today it is reduced to a secondary plane, but it is still maintained in the person of the chief of hunting expeditions, who is the one best acquainted with the topography and the most likely haunts of game, who knows the feeding habits of animals, the paths which they take, and, from the smallest detail, can deduce what kind of game is near, its size, etc., since one of his essential qualities is that of being a skillful tracker. Furthermore, he is in possession of weapons adequate for each type of animal, weapons which he has made himself and magic charms for each species to ensure safety and success in hunting. It is also necessary that he be perfectly familiar with the tactics of hunting so as to be able to place to the best advantage the different participants in the expedition; he should sacrifice his personal interest in favor of the others so that his companions will recognize his generosity when distributing the catch.

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177 SA6 When we consider the individual in the family unit, we also find a gradation of status in direct proportion to the importance and position of each member of the family in the home. At the very head we find the eldest maternal uncle, whose responsibilities for the economic-social backing of the family, especially in relation to nephews, his sister's sons, are very important, as we have noted throughout this study. He is the

/235 cont./

177 596 head of the family and his decisions are accepted because he assumes absolute responsibility for the family. Hence the absolute obligation of consanguineous relatives dependent on him to respect /246/ his wishes and give way to his decisions. In the Guajiro family organization, in which descent is matrilineal, the father is simply a biological element without social or family ties with his children. This is what occurs in the traditional family system, but at the present time the status of the maternal uncle and the father are in conflict, and the latter tends to replace the former in the family group, due to the change in the concept of kinship which is upsetting the legendary canons of matrilinear descent. Thus the status of the father is gradually rising, affecting the relations between nephews and sons, for, if previously the nephews, sons of a sister, were those who attracted the men's attention, now it is the sons who are gradually taking this place to the extent that, as we mentioned in the chapter entitled Inheritance, veritable clashes arise between one and the other after a man's death with respect to sharing in the goods of the deceased. Male children, in view of this new concept of kinship between father and son which has arisen, particularly through the new form of marriage brought about by acculturation, believe themselves to have inalienable rights to their father's possessions at his death to the exclusion of the maternal nephews, who should submit to the same rule and expect their inheritance not from their uncles but from their own fathers. Furthermore, son and father, in accordance with the system of uterine descent could become, and actually did become, enemies when the paternal and the maternal clans went to war with each other, but now the son fights at the side of his father in the majority of cases and is, in turn, represented by his father in rites of passage.

177 Again, the question of marriage presents itself as one of the most important, if not the most important, in Guajiro social organization. Any upheaval that occurs in this has its repercussions on all other traditional institutions, which do not

[62 cont.]

825 whole period of pregnancy. The duality of childbirth-serpent
843 is brought to our notice with an insistence and disconcerting realism which we will endeavor to explain.

If we look into the Guajiro family organization we can
596 see how that community taken as a homogeneous whole is
621 divided into series of extended family groups which follow the line of maternal filiation. Belonging to a family group are the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother, the sons and daughters of the mother's daughters, and so on successively. The administration of the family is not in the hands of the father, who is not considered as such, but in those of the maternal uncles, the eldest of these being predominant. Inheritance also
428 is determined by this system, and sons inherit nothing from their natural father, but from their mother or their maternal uncles. The property of the father is split up among his nephews, sons of his sister, whom he considers as sons. Patrilocality and
591 matrilocality exist, the former predominating. The family group, wrongly named by some authors casta is very much
614 extended, and to it belong all those bearing the same surname. Each large family group has its own property mark or brand and a representative animal. Thus, for example: [63]

Family groups	*Representative animals*
Uriña (41)	jaguar

[104]

41. For the convenience of our readers we have adapted the phonetics of all these Guajiro names to Spanish orthography, using the most apparent sounds.

Uŕáriyŭ	rattlesnake
Uriyŭ	snake
Woŕriyŭ	partridge
Uyáŕayŭ	cauquero (a species of deer)
Ipwana	cari-cari
Sápwana	bittern